

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 /084 W
-----110674 200752Z /11

P R 200621Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0675
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5062

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE SHUM UR UN RO CSCE

SUBJECT: BILATERAL APPROACHES ON SOVIET TRIALS: ROMANIA

REF: STATE 179532

1. DURING AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S JULY 19 MEETING WITH ROMANIAN
FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI, AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID HE WOULD LIKE
TO EXPLAIN WHY GOR SHOULD BE CONCERNED WITH CURRENT STATE OF
US-SOVIET RELATIONS, INCLUDING IMPACT OF SOVIET TRIALS.

2. PARTLY AS AN OUTCOME OF VIETNAM AND WATERGATE, US CONGRESS
HAS BECOME INDEPENDENT ENTITY IN US POLICY PROCESS. OUR
EXPERTS APPEAR TO BE FAIRLY CLOSE TO COMPLETION OF A SALT
TREATY. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, TRIALS ARE CREATING SUCH AN
ANTI-SOVIET MOOD THAT IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN NECESSARY
TWO-THIRDS OF SENATE VOTES FOR RATIFICATION. IF TREATY IS
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REJECTED IN SENATE, OR IF ADMINISTRATION REFUSES TO
BRING IT UP BECAUSE THE JUDGMENT WAS IT COULD NOT PASS,
INSTEAD OF LIMITING ARMS COMPETITION WE MAY WELL END UP
PROVOKING INEVITABLE ESCALATION.

3. OVER PAST YEARS, US AND USSR HAVE ORDINARILY
COOPERATED WITH SOME DIFFICULTY, AMBASSADOR YOUNG WENT ON.

PRESENT SITUATION IS THAT US HAS MOST SENSITIVE AND PROGRESSIVE ADMINISTRATION IT IS LIABLE TO HAVE FOR A LONG TIME; IN HIS VIEW, SAME IS TRUE OF SOVIET UNION. IF PRESIDENTS CARTER AND BREZHNEV FAIL IN CURRENT VENTURE, NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP NOW EMERGING COULD END UP MORE HOSTILE AND BELLIGERENT THAN BEFORE. ALL THE MEDIATION AVAILABLE IS NEEDED.

4. IN RAISING THE TOPIC OF MEDIATION, WE REALIZE IT INVOLVES NOT ONLY HELP WITH OTHER SIDE, BUT OPENESS TO ADVICE ON OURS, AMBASSADOR YOUNG CONTINUED. HE HAD BEEN TRYING TO EXPLAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- WHICH IS MAINLY POLITICAL AND CIVIL -- AND WHAT HE UNDERSTOOD OF SOVIET CONCEPT -- WHICH STRESSES ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. THERE IS ALMOST NO UNDERSTANDING FOR THIS DISTINCTION IN OUR COUNTRY. SOME UNDERSTANDING COULD RESULT FROM KINDS OF DISCUSSIONS HE HAD IN MIND.

5. AT PRESENT JUNCTURE, HOWEVER, TRIALS OF SHCHARANSKIY, GINZBURG AND ORLOV, PLUS TRIALS OF US JOURNALISTS, PLUS US ARRESTS OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF ESPIONAGE, IS BUILDING UP VERY BAD FEELING AMONG AMERICAN PEOPLE. MEN TEND TO FEAR WHAT THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND, AND THEN TO HATE WHAT THEY FEAR. HIS OWN SENSE WAS THAT NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL BE VERY CRITICAL FOR HISTORY OF US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, AND COULD SET PATTERNS WHICH WILL CONFIDENTIAL

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DETERMINE DEVELOPMENTS INTO NEXT DECADE.

6. ROMANIA SPEAKS TO BOTH SOVIETS AND CHINESE, AND COULD PERHAPS BE HELPFUL IN US-SOVIET DIALOGUE, IN WAYS TO BE DETERMINED BY GOR. HE WISHED THERE WERE SOME WAY ROMANIAN VIEWPOINT COULD BE FED INTO THINKING OF BOTH SIDES IN US-SOVIET DIALOGUE.

7. HIS PERSONAL VIEW WAS THAT US HAS BEEN IMPORTANT EVOLUTION OF PROBLEMS AND ACCOMMODATIONS IN RECENT YEARS. IT HAD BEGUN WITH BLACK MOVEMENT, BUT CARRIED ON TO INCLUDE MEXICAN-AMERICANS, NATIVE AMERICANS AND NOW A MORE AGGRESSIVE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. WE HAVE PROFITED AS A COUNTRY BY ACCOMMODATING; EVERYONE IS BETTER OFF. HE FELT THAT PROBLEMS RAISED BY ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS IN SOVIET UNION ARE PERHAPS ONLY TIP OF ICEBERG OF ANOTHER KIND OF EXPECTATION IN SOVIET SOCIETY, WHICH SOVIETS WILL ONE DAY LEARN TO ACCOMMODATE. HE FOUND IT IRONIC THAT WHEN HE HAD WORKED WITH DR. KING IN 1950'S THEY HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF COMMUNISM, WHILE SHCHARANSKIY IS NOW ACCUSED OF CAPITALIST AND CIA INSPIRATION. THERE APPEARS TO BE NOTHING CAPITALIST ABOUT SHCHARANSKIY:

THE YEARNING FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM OCCURS, AS WE SEE IT,
WHENEVER THE BASIC NECESSITIES OF LIFE ARE TAKEN CARE
OF, AND THE STIRRINGS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR ARE
AN INDICATION OF THE SYSTEM'S SUCCESS, RATHER THAN ITS
BREAKDOWN.

8. ANDREI RESPONDED THAT WITH IMMINENT DEPARTURE TO
CEAUSESCU'S SUMMER RESIDENCE AT BLACK SEA THERE WAS NO
TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF BASICS, WHICH REACH INTO IDEOLOGICAL
FIELD. DIFFERENT CONCEPTS CERTAINLY EXIST. ROMANIANS
DO NOT CONSIDER THEIR SOCIETY PERFECT; TO DO SO WOULD BE
IN CONTRADICTION WITH OWN VIEW THAT ROMANIA IS UNDER-
DEVELOPED. AS DEVELOPING COUNTRY, ROMANIA BEARS BURDENS
OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT, AND FEELS ITS EFFECTS. PRESIDENT
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CEAUSESCU IN CONVERSATIONS WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRY LEADERS
HAS SAID HE THOUGHT THEY NEEDED MORE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
RIGHTS, WHILE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES INCLUDING ROMANIA NEED
MORE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. THIS IS ROMANIAN CONVICTION.

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ACTION EUR-12

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 HA-05 /084 W

-----110765 200751Z /11

P R 200621Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0676

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 BUCHAREST 5062

IN SITUATION WHERE WHOLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF COUNTRY IS GOVERNED BY SINGLE PLAN WITH FORCE OF LAW, THERE ARE SERIOUS EFFECTS, BUT AT ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENT LEVEL THERE IS NO WAY OUT.

9. IT IS CLEAR, THEREFORE, THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT CONCEPTS, ANDREI WENT ON. ROMANIANS STRESS THEIR OWN ACHIEVEMENTS AND FRAMEWORK THEY HAVE CREATED FOR FURTHER PROGRESS. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE FREEDOMS AND LIBERTIES ISSUING FROM FRENCH BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION ARE IMMUTABLE OR ETERNAL; THEY DO BELIEVE THEY CAN BE DEVELOPED. IT IS REAL QUESTION WHETHER PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IS HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY. ROMANIA WOULD NOT ACCEPT FRAMEWORK CREATED IN ITALY, WHERE NO ONE YET KNOWS WHO KIDNAPPED ALDO MORE OR WHERE HE WAS HELD.

10. AT SAME TIME, ANDREI CONTINUED, ROMANIA ALSO HAS
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DIFFERENCES WITH SOVIETS, INCLUDING DIFFERENCES ON JUST THIS ISSUE. THEY BEAR PARTICULARLY ON WAYS TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS. ROMANIA IS AGAINST TRIALS; IT HAS NOT CONDUCTED TRIALS ACCUSING PEOPLE OF ESPIONAGE IN THIS TYPE OF SITUATION FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS. GOR HAS OTHER APPROACHES, EVEN TOWARD THOSE GUILTY OF COMMON LAW INFRACTIONS. YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NO LONGER SENT TO PRISON, WHICH TRAINS THEM IN CRIMINALITY, BUT TO FACTORIES.

11. HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT ONLY FIELD WHERE ROMANIA HAS DIFFERENCES WITH SOVIET UNION. PROBLEM AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD RAISED WOULD BE "OBJECT OF REFLECTION." AT SAME TIME, HE THOUGHT US HAD MANY CHANNELS FOR DISCUSSION WITH USSR; SECRETARY VANCE MET WITH GROMYKO, AND AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN IS IN DEPARTMENT EVERY WEEK. ROMANIA MUST BE VERY PRUDENT WITH SITUATIONS WHICH WOULD LATER OFFER OTHERS PRETEXT TO INTERFERE IN ROMANIAN AFFAIRS, AND TELL ROMANIANS WHAT TO DO. HE NOTED AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS, WHICH WOULD REACH PROPER ADDRESSEE; HE ALSO HOPED AMBASSADOR WOULD APPRECIATE ROMANIA'S WAY OF APPROACHING THESE ISSUES.

12. AMBASSADOR YOUNG CONCLUDED HE HAS FOUND CONTACTS ARE REPORTED IN NORMAL CHANNELS, BUT COMMUNICATIONS BEGINS WHEN LEADERS SIT DOWN TO TALK ABOUT PROBLEMS AS FRIENDS. AMERICANS BELIEVE US IS FREE AND FLEXIBLE SOCIETY, BUT THREE PRESIDENTS HAVE FOUND THEMSELVES SUBSTANTIALLY ISOLATED ON MAJOR ISSUES IN LAST YEARS, AND HE ASSUMES

SOVIET SOCIETY IS EVEN MORE FORMAL THAN OURS. IT IS
IMPORTANT TO PURSUE DIALOGUE BY EVERY POSSIBLE AVENUE.
ANDREI SAID HE HAD TAKEN NOTE.
AGGREY
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, TREATY RATIFICATION, POLITICAL TRIALS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BUCHAR05062
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780297-1019
Format: TEL
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780641/aaaabjsu.tel
Line Count: 234
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a660c785-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 179532
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2290545
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BILATERAL APPROACHES ON SOVIET TRIALS: ROMANIA
TAGS: SHUM, UR, RO, CSCE, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a660c785-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014